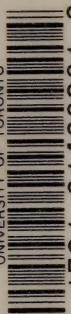


Joseph Chamberlain  
**JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN  
ON BOTH SIDES**

*By* **ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH**

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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*"A plague of opinion! A man may wear it  
on both sides, like a leather jerkin."*

**LONDON: HODDER & STOUGHTON**





JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN ON BOTH SIDES

MR. GLADSTONE's appeal to Mr. Chamberlain for a little of the ancient faith which he used to have : " I do not ask him to urge all his principles and all his opinions with the vehemence and in the alarming terms by which in other days he excited such horror among Conservative members, and by which he contrived to scare from the Liberal party many good though timid men who are now associated with him in the closest and most harmonious relations ; I will not ask him to revert to his famous dicta, by which he earned an immortality, not perhaps altogether acceptable to his present humour ; but I ask him in some degree to recall the sentiments cherished by him in his youth, and in his middle age to join with us—at least so far as reason will support our proposition—in something better than referring to the discretion and arbitrary will of the Conservative Government to say whether some improvement in our law shall take place or not " (*April 8, 1892*).



# JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN ON BOTH SIDES

A BOOK OF CONTRASTS

BY

ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH

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FOURTH THOUSAND

LONDON  
HODDER AND STOUGHTON

27 PATERNOSTER ROW

1906

2010



## NOTE

THIS book may be useful to electors in enabling them to realise how Mr. Chamberlain has presented both sides of many questions. It consists chiefly of sharply contrasted quotations. Along with these are given certain confessions of change of opinion, also extracts from speeches by Mr. Chamberlain, most of which were delivered when he belonged to the Liberal party. "It would be an interminable task," said Mr. Gladstone in 1893, "to bring into juxtaposition his innumerable contrarieties against himself." Only a limited part of the task is attempted here, but enough is shown to enforce Mr. Ritchie's warning that "we ought to be cautious in following the advice of one whose changes of opinion have been so violent."

*December, 1905.*

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## POLITICAL RECORD

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S career has been the most varied and picturesque in the political annals of the last thirty years. It is the career of several men rolled into one. Opponents, such as Mr. Healy, find it "cankered with inconsistency"; admirers, on the other hand, trace in it a natural process of development. Mr. Chamberlain himself has scarcely ever been embarrassed by the charges of inconsistency which have been brought against him for twenty years. He shows his strength by defending energetically the opinions which he holds at the moment without troubling himself to reconcile the present with the past. "I am not," he said at Birmingham on January 15, 1891, "in the least afraid of any attack upon me because, forsooth! I am allied with those who were formerly my opponents. We have both of us put a good number of our prejudices and our opinions in our pockets." Mr. Chamberlain is not a bigoted believer in the creed of consistency. He agrees with Emerson that a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little statesmen and philosophers and divines. "I do not think," he has said, "that a great statesman is bound

never to change his opinions. There is often much more virtue in an honest conversion than in a blind adherence to opinions which have been proved to be erroneous." What is remarkable in his own case is that he has changed so many of his opinions so sharply and so completely.

When Mr. Chamberlain, at the age of forty, entered Parliament as one of the members for Birmingham in 1876, he had retired from business with a fortune; he was in his third year as Mayor of his adopted town; he had taken the leading part in the reform of the municipal life of Birmingham; and he had become known throughout England as an ardent advocate of unsectarian education. He had been a supporter of Republicanism, in theory, and had expressed very advanced opinions at Sheffield in 1874, when he stood, without success, in the interests of "the poor working men and the Dissenters." On many platforms and in articles in the *Fortnightly Review*, then edited by Mr. John Morley, Mr. Chamberlain attacked Mr. Forster's Education Act on account of its encouragement of denominational schools; he accused the Liberal Government of pursuing "a policy of compromise and weakness"; he advocated in his first programme Free Church, Free Land, Free Schools, and Free Labour; and in 1874 he urged that the next page of the Liberal programme should be devoted to Disestablishment, even although that page might not bear the name of Mr. Gladstone, who had "earned his right to repose."



Sitting below the Opposition gangway between the years 1876 and 1880, Mr. Chamberlain took a large share in Parliamentary proceedings, and quickly obtained reputation as a bold politician and an incisive debater. He became the bogey of the Conservatives, their alarm being heightened by the operations of the Caucus, of which he was the leading promoter. When Mr. Gladstone visited Birmingham, and was his guest, at the inauguration of the Liberal Federation, in the summer of 1877, Mr. Chamberlain pronounced a glowing eulogy on the statesman whom he had a few years previously criticised very severely. The Eastern Question drew them together, the younger politician earnestly joining in the agitation which Mr. Gladstone raised. Lord Hartington, while at the head of the Liberals in the House of Commons, did not find the new member a docile follower ; and the most memorable incident in the early Parliamentary career of the ex-Mayor of Birmingham was that in which, during a controversy on flogging in 1879, he sneered at Lord Hartington as "lately the leader of the Opposition."

In the Government of 1880-85 Mr. Chamberlain, who held the office of President of the Board of Trade, played an important *rôle*. Radicals looked to him as their principal representative in the Cabinet. He obtained a leading part in debate, and was conspicuous, for instance, in his defence of the retrocession of the Transvaal after Majuba. With regard to Ireland, which was a constant cause of trouble to the Govern-

ment, he expressed, with great vehemence, his hatred of coercion, and in order to promote conciliation he assisted in arranging the so-called Kilmainham Treaty, under which Mr. Parnell was released from prison, and which was followed by Mr. W. E. Forster's resignation of the Chief Secretaryship. Fierce attacks were made by Conservatives on Mr. Chamberlain for his share in a transaction which, according to Mr. Arthur Balfour, stood alone in our history in its infamy; and he was charged with intrigue against his colleague, but Mr. Forster stated that he himself was cognisant of the negotiations. "The only Jingo in the Cabinet," was a description applied by Mr. Bright to Mr. Chamberlain, when he became an advocate of a forward policy in Egypt. In connection with his own department he passed several useful bills, but failed to carry a measure dealing with merchant shipping, which excited the hostility of the shipowners. On account of his failure in this respect he desired to resign, but he was persuaded to remain in view of the franchise struggle.

A programme of Radical reforms, which became known as the unauthorised programme, began to be advocated by Mr. Chamberlain in 1883, and it caused no small commotion at Court and in the Cabinet. During the remainder of the life of the Government there were frequent disagreements between the moderate section led by Lord Hartington and the Radicals associated with the member for Birmingham. Mr. Chamberlain took a very brisk share in the controversies



in Parliament and in the country on the extension of the franchise, and entered into particularly lively quarrels with Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill. He had referred to the former in 1883 as the spokesman of a class "who toil not, neither do they spin." His attacks on the peers, who stood for some time in the way of the Franchise Bill, excited the enthusiastic applause of the Radicals, but alarmed the Whigs as well as the Tories, and Mr. Balfour described his strictures as consisting "in about equal measure of bad history, bad logic, and bad taste." These strictures culminated in the famous threat to the House of Lords at Denbigh: "The cup is nearly full."

The popularity of Mr. Chamberlain among the Radicals reached its height in 1885, when he carried his unauthorised programme throughout the country. He caused great excitement by his inquiry at Birmingham as to what "ransom" property would pay for the security which it enjoyed. The idea of ransom disturbed the owners of property. Meanwhile there was fresh dissension in the Cabinet on the subject of Ireland, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke being unwilling to consent to the renewal of coercion, and a scheme of national councils which the former submitted being rejected by the Whig majority of Ministers. After the defeat of the Government he pushed his unauthorised programme with increased vigour, and his speeches reached a rhetorical height which they had not previously touched. His quarrel with the moderate Liberals

seemed to be complete: he jeered at Lord Hartington as a political Rip Van Winkle, and at Mr. Goschen (now Lord Goschen) as the skeleton at Egyptian feasts.

Home Rule produced a swift change. The Conservative "Stop-gap Government" was, after a General Election, defeated at the beginning of 1886 on the three-acres-and-a-cow amendment, embodying part of the Birmingham policy. Mr. Chamberlain took office again under Mr. Gladstone (preferring the Local Government Board to the Admiralty), but resigned a few weeks later on account of Irish policy. Although he had denounced the existing system in Ireland more fiercely than any other living Englishman, and boasted that he was a Home Ruler long before Mr. Gladstone, he opposed the Liberal leader's scheme because, as he contended, it did not preserve the integrity of the United Kingdom or the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. The Nationalists, and those Radicals who adhered to Mr. Gladstone, attacked him much more bitterly than any other Liberal Unionist. They accused him of personal ambition. On the other hand, it has been asserted that the Prime Minister did not show him sufficient consideration. Mr. Chamberlain contributed a great deal to the defeat of the bill in the House of Commons, and to the overthrow of the Government. This was the first party split at which he assisted. The pillar of the Radicals became the buttress of the Conservatives.



Gradually Mr. Chamberlain associated and threw in his lot with the statesmen whom he had formerly denounced, and who had regarded him as a danger to the institutions of the country. He became the intimate colleague of Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen and the ally of Lord Salisbury, and he supported Mr. Balfour's coercion of Ireland. The Conservatives were influenced by his Liberalising views, and his alliance with them was facilitated by the passage of certain reforms, such as free education, county government, and facilities for obtaining allotments and small holdings. On the other hand, he was bitterly reproached by some old friends when he acquiesced in the denominational schools receiving the free grants without popular control. Taunts and recriminations passed between them on several subjects, and by 1891 Mr. Chamberlain declared that he had ceased to look for, or desire, reunion with the Liberal party.

In the second Home Rule struggle—in 1893—when Mr. Gladstone made his last great effort in his final administration Mr. Chamberlain distinguished himself by the intensity of his opposition. On account of the succession of Lord Hartington to the peerage as Duke of Devonshire he had become leader of the Liberal Unionists in the House of Commons, and although Mr. Balfour had been raised to the Conservative leadership, the member for Birmingham was the chief fighter. His debating duels with Mr. Gladstone were worthy of both men. When the House

of Lords threw out the Home Rule Bill the former assailant of the peers became their champion and eulogist. He resisted also the attempt of the Liberals to deal with plural voting, and he condemned their Local Veto Bill; and while he maintained his faith in Disestablishment as a principle, he pained his earliest friends by remarking, *à propos* of Disestablishment in Wales, that nobody would be one penny the better for it.

The transformation of Mr. Chamberlain was complete when, in 1895, he joined a Government under Lord Salisbury. With a rapidly growing spirit of imperialism, he found a congenial post at the Colonial Office. He threw off parochialism and gloried in the greatness of the empire. At the same time, he pushed social reform in his new surroundings, and carried a bill dealing with compensation for accidents to workmen. His career at the Colonial Office will be specially memorable on account of the Boer War. The war policy aroused turbulent passions, but Mr. Chamberlain's defence of it increased his ascendancy in Parliament. After Mr. Gladstone's retirement, he became the most marked figure at St. Stephen's, and when the new colonies in South Africa were added to the empire he appeared to be the most powerful man in the Government. He acquiesced, almost in silence so far as the House of Commons was concerned, in a retrograde Licensing Bill and in a bill which gave rate aid to Voluntary schools. The appointment of Mr. Balfour to succeed Lord Salisbury at the head of the Government in August, 1902, seemed

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to extinguish any likelihood of Mr. Chamberlain ever becoming Prime Minister. He served for little more than a year under his new chief. A tour in South Africa, where he was received with enormous enthusiasm, stimulated his imperial zeal, and soon after his return the country was startled by his advocacy of a new fiscal policy, intended to develop trade with the colonies and to protect home industries in competition with foreign. His abandonment of Free Trade, as popularly understood, was the most sensational event of a sensational career. Once more his opponents suspected that he was influenced by an ambitious desire to grasp leadership, and once more he was at issue with the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Goschen, the former now becoming "the drag upon the wheel." His withdrawal from the Government in the autumn of 1903, accompanied as it was by the resignation of the Free Traders, saved the Prime Minister for a time from embarrassment, but his continued bold advocacy of his new policy destroyed the unity of the Unionist party and split the Conservatives into various sections.

"Circumstances have changed, and not I," said Mr. Chamberlain at Hanley on July 12, 1895, but the following list shows that on many questions he also has changed. He is a tireless artificer of new programmes and a lover of new departures; he has twice been almost within reach of the Prime Ministership, and, according to Lord Rosebery, his epitaph will record that in a political career of thirty years he split up both the great political parties of the State.

## CONFESSIONS OF CHANGE

*March* 24, 1890.—“I admit I was one of those who regretted the necessity for the occupation of Egypt; and when the occupation was forced upon us I looked forward with anxiety to an early, it might be even an immediate, evacuation. . . . But I have changed my mind.”

*January* 15, 1891.—“We (Conservatives and Liberal Unionists) have, both of us, to put a good number of our prejudices and our opinions in our pockets.”

*July* 10, 1891 (Letter).—“All that has happened since 1885 has shaken my confidence in the particular solution of the Irish Question which I was then prepared heartily to support.”

1893 (An Irish Board of Control).—Admits he had changed the opinion he held in 1885 as to the possibility of entrusting even these limited powers to the present representatives of the majority in Ireland.

*April* 30, 1895 (Plural Voting).—“A speech of mine has been quoted which, like all those speeches, was delivered a very considerable time ago, as to which I will say that since then no doubt some of my opinions have been modified and some of them remain unchanged. In the present instance I do not think I have modified the opinion which I expressed.”



*May 1, 1896.*—"In 1870 I was in favour of the extinction of the Voluntary schools, but I have changed my mind."

*September 23, 1900.*—"I was in the Government which gave back the independence of the Transvaal after Majuba. It was a disastrous mistake."

*October 21, 1903 (Fair Trade and Preference).*—"I admit that I have changed my opinion."

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## CHRONOLOGY.

- 1869.—Municipal reformer and advocate of unsectarian education.
- 1876.—Independent Radical Member of Parliament.
- 1880.—Member of Liberal Cabinet.
- 1884.—Assailant of House of Lords.
- 1885.—Unauthorised Radical programme: "The gospel of political humanity."
- 1886.—Opponent of Home Rule Bill, and ally of Conservatives.
- 1889.—Repudiates new Radicalism.
- 1892.—Opposes Liberal Government and Liberal policy.
- 1895.—Joins Coalition Government under Lord Salisbury.
- 1899.—Boer War.
- 1903.—Missionary of Empire and advocate of Tax on Food.

"He has forgotten everything, repented of everything, repudiated everything."—SIR WM. HARCOURT.

"I have two little red volumes. One is called 'The Radical Programme, with a Preface by Mr. Chamberlain,' and the other is 'Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches.' I promise you that I shall put these two volumes into the top shelves of my library, and I do not think that I shall consult them again."—MR. JOHN MORLEY.



## A CHAPTER OF CONTRASTS

### PAROCHIAL—IMPERIAL.

October 26, 1880.—

“I will confess to you that I am so parochically minded that I look with greater satisfaction to our annexation of the gas and water, to our scientific frontier in the improvement area, than I do to the result of that imperial policy which has given us Cyprus and the Transvaal; and I am prouder of having been engaged with you in warring against ignorance and disease and crime in Birmingham than if I had been the author of the Zulu War, and had instigated the invasion of Afghanistan.”

January 30, 1897.—

“The leaders of the Radical party forget, in the attention which they give to *these domestic controversies, which, after all, are of minor importance*—they forget the real part which this country has played and is called upon to play in the history of the world.”

January 6, 1902.—

“We have to carry civilization, British justice, British law: we have to carry religion and Christianity to millions and millions of peoples who, until our advent, have

*January* 14, 1885.—  
 “Local government touches the domestic life of the people, their health, comfort, and happiness more closely and to a greater extent than many of the most ambitious efforts of imperial legislation.”

*April* 19, 1887.—“I am proud of being a parochial statesman, and I will say this—that our parochial statesmen have done even more for the welfare and happiness of the people than our imperial legislature.”

lived in ignorance and in bitter conflict, and whose territories have fallen to us to develop. That is our duty. It is a Christian duty. *It removes altogether from us the reproach of selfishness, of parochial politics.*”

*October* 24, 1900.—  
 “What should we be without our empire? Two small islands with an overcrowded population in the northern sea!”

*January* 19, 1904.—  
 “Learn to think imperially.”

#### IMPERIAL EXPANSION.

*August* 1, 1878.—  
 “Already the weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of his fate.”

*November* 3, 1897.—  
 “Is it contended that the weary Titan staggers under the too vast orb of his fate, and that we have not the strength to

sustain the burden of  
empire?"<sup>1</sup>

*August 1, 1878.* —  
"The vulgar patriotism  
of the music-halls."

*October 24, 1900.* —  
"We have at last abandoned the craven fear of being great, which was the disgrace of a previous age."

*March 27, 1879* (South African wars and "this new Imperialism"). —  
"Where was this policy to stop? . . . Unless this spirit were either by Parliament or by the people at large, severely and sternly repressed, there could hardly be a limit to the responsibilities which

*February 2, 1893.* —  
"We cannot imperil our position as a great nation by refusing to face any responsibilities which come to us in our character as a great nation."

*August 3, 1890.* — "I think I may congratulate you that within the present

<sup>1</sup> "Yes, we arraign her! but she,  
The weary Titan, with deaf  
Ears and labour-dimmed eyes,  
Regarding neither to right  
Nor left, goes passively by,  
Staggering on to her goal;  
Bearing on shoulders immense,  
Atlantean, the load,  
Well-nigh not to be borne,  
Of the too vast orb of her fate."



might be fastened upon us, and none to the difficulties and even the disasters yet in store for this country."

*December* 19, 1882.—

"The time has gone by when Lord Beaconsfield could truly declare that the policy of the English Government embraced the extension of the empire. We think our possessions are sufficiently ample, our duties and responsibilities too onerous and complicated."

*January* 15, 1884.—  
"There is a great party

year, without striking a blow, we have added a vast empire to the dominions of the Queen in Africa."

*March* 20, 1893.—"I

and those who agree with me believe in the expansion of the empire, and we are not ashamed to confess that we have that feeling, and we are not at all troubled by accusations of Jingoism."

*May* 22, 1895.—"We

believe in the expansion of the empire, in its legitimate development. We are not afraid to take upon ourselves the burden and the responsibility which attach to a great governing race."

*November* 4, 1897.—

"We believe in the great-

in this country which seems to have learnt nothing by experience, but which is always eager for the expansion of an empire already, I should think, vast enough to satisfy the most inordinate ambition, and which taxes our resources to the utmost in the attempt to govern it well and wisely."

ness of the empire. We are not afraid of its expansion. We think that a nation, like an individual, is the better for having great responsibilities and great obligations."

#### JINGOISM.

*June* 17, 1885. — By the reform of Irish administration, "we will do more to secure the strength, the character, and the influence of the nation than by the addition of any amount, however large, to the expenditure of the nation for naval or military purposes—it will go further to maintain our weight in the councils of Europe than any amount of bluster in our relations with

*April* 17, 1901.—"The only thing that makes possible this wonderful empire of ours is British prestige."

*January* 23, 1889.—"There is a school of modern philosophy, of which the literary representative is Mr. John Morley, which shrinks from national obligations, and which, like Pilate, would wash its hands of national responsibilities."

foreign countries, and that it will do more to promote the true interests of the people of the United Kingdom than any extension of the empire, which it is our business to govern well and wisely before we seek to multiply our responsibilities or enlarge our obligations."

#### TORIES.

*October, 1874 (Fortnightly Review).*—"The Conservative party is principally composed of the privileged classes and their respective parasites; and a species of half-conscious log-rolling goes on, in which the holders of special immunities and advantages — the landowners and the game-preservers, the licensed victualler and the Established parson — all take part, and combine to resist the aggression which

*October 1, 1889.*—"I have found out that they (Conservatives and Whigs) are very good fellows, and they have found out that my measures are very safe measures."



threatens any of their separate interests."

*January 9, 1877.*—He claimed that all the great benefits conferred by past legislation upon the wage classes had emanated from the Liberals.

*January 8, 1880.*—  
 "Here lies a Tory Ministry  
 Whose word no man relies on;  
 Who never said the things they  
 meant,  
 And never did a wise one."

*February 3, 1880.*—"I have the most sincere distrust of all Conservative reforms. It brings to my mind the mediæval legend—

'When the devil was sick the  
 devil a monk would be;  
 When the devil got well the devil  
 a monk was he.'

*January 5, 1882.* —  
 "The Tory notion of really successful domestic statesmanship has been

*November 21, 1905.*—  
 "When I belonged to the Radical party, so-called, I said to them what I say to you now—that social reform owes every step to the constructive capacity of a Tory or Unionist Government."

described in two or three lines :—

‘To promise, pause, prepare,  
postpone,  
And end by letting things alone ;  
In short, by taking people’s pay  
For doing nothing every day.’”

*February* 10, 1880.—  
“The Conservative party has for years past played with every political agitation that has been excited. . . . It was they who denounced the proceedings of the Trades Unions and the object of these bodies ; and it was they who, when they came into power, conceded to Trades Unions almost everything which they had previously condemned.”

*July* 24, 1885.—“This crowd of hungry office-seekers.”

*June* 7, 1881.—“Do you want the Tories back again? Are you willing

*June* 26, 1903. —  
“Surely it is common knowledge that all that system of legislation which has promoted the health and the comfort of the working classes, which has caused, to some extent at any rate, a rise in their wages, was due to Conservative statesmen like Lord Shaftesbury.”

once more to relegate to a distant future all prospects of domestic reform in order to enter again upon a policy of meddling interference and wanton aggression?"

*December* 19, 1882.—  
"When you come to think about it, a Tory is really an object of most sincere compassion, with his history of constant defeat, of predictions falsified, of hopes disappointed."

*December* 4, 1883.—  
"We have something more important to consider than the fretful irritation of politicians out of place."

*November* 26, 1883.—  
"The Tories when they were in office did nothing; and when they are out of office do everything to prevent us from doing anything."

*July* 10, 1895.—"Give to the Conservatives, in common fairness, what is undoubtedly their due—the right to claim that they were the first to take an interest in questions affecting the material happiness and domestic lives of the people of this country."



*November 26, 1883.*—

“The Tories are always deaf and blind on this question of Reform until they get thoroughly frightened.”

*January 16, 1884.*—

The Tories “have apparently a rooted distrust of their fellow-countrymen, which no experience can possibly remove.”

*August 4, 1884.*—“The party of obstruction and of prejudice.”

*October 7, 1884.*—“The Tories always have hated every extension of popular liberties.”

*October 20, 1884.*—

“Amerciful Providence fashioned them holler,  
O’ purpose that they might their  
principles swaller.”

*January 29, 1885.*—

“What is it that the Tories have to offer us

*July 4, 1904.*—“It has happened that most of our social legislation has been brought forward and carried by the Conservative and Unionist party.”

*July 10 1895.*—“Let me nail to the counter another misrepresentation. The Gladstonians tell you that they are the true friends of social legislation, and that the Conservatives are opposed to it. Nothing can be more untrue.”

besides a vigorous foreign policy, which might, perchance, find places for some of their younger sons, or a tax on the food of the people which would undoubtedly raise their rents?"

*June 3, 1885.*—A contrast between the Tory Parliament of 1874 and the Liberal Parliament of 1880. "During the whole existence of the former, with the exception, perhaps, of the Artizans Dwellings Act, which was unfortunately an unsuccessful but a well-meant attempt to grapple with a great social evil, there is not, as I believe, one single act of legislation to which the future historians will deem it necessary to make even a passing reference." In the case of the Liberal Parliament of 1880, "there has not been

*October 1, 1889.*—"We are continually taunted with having become Tories. Well, it all depends upon what you mean by Toryism."

*November 17, 1898.*—"The Conservative party have been in a special sense the great apostles of social reform."

a single session that has passed without measures of important reform finding their place in the statute book, without grievances being redressed and wrongs being remedied."

*August 5, 1885.*—"The Liberal party has always seemed to me the great agency of progress and reform."

*May 18, 1897.*—"When I stood for Sheffield in 1874 I pointed out to my Liberal friends that they were the most backward in social legislation, and that all this legislation had been initiated and to a large extent carried out by the Tory party. I said that in 1874, and I say it in 1897."

#### PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE.

*July 23, 1884.*—"The new voters "will not be slow to see the difference between Tory professions and Liberal performances."

*March 27, 1884.*—"So far as I can judge, the Tories are at best as able to make promises which they find it difficult or

*July 2, 1892.*—"Promise with the Unionist Government means performance."



impossible to fulfil as any other party in this House."

*March 27, 1884.*—"I should like to know when the time would be opportune in the minds of the Tory party for a measure of reform."

#### TORYISM.

1885.—"Aye, this is Toryism all over. It is cynical, it is selfish, it is incapable."

*July 6, 1892.*—"I am not ashamed of the alliance with the Conservative party; I glory in it."

#### IRELAND.

*February 1, 1883.*—"Centuries of wrong and of oppression has made Ireland what she is."

*July 6, 1886.*—"I think that on the whole Ireland has had more justice than England and Wales and Scotland."

*February 23, 1883.*—"How long is England's danger to be Ireland's opportunity? How long do you suppose the people

*February 17, 1893.*—"The reason why we are opposed to separation is because of the geographical situation of Ireland,

of this country would tolerate a policy which involves the existence of a Poland within four hours of our shore?"

and because Ireland within a few hours of our shores cannot become independent without being a source of danger to the very existence of the empire."

### HOME RULE.

*April* 15, 1887.—"We are both Liberals and Home Rulers."

*April* 18, 1887.—"I was a Home Ruler long before Mr. Gladstone."

*April* 9, 1886. — "I have never been opposed to Home Rule as I have explained and as I have always understood the words, and as the Prime Minister has on many public occasions defined it."

*June* 19, 1886. — "I have always been a Home Ruler."

*July* 2, 1886.—"You are asked to pay a hundred and fifty millions (under the Land Bill) to set up a rival Parliament in Dublin; aye, a rival and a competitor to the great Parliament at Westminster, the mother of Parliaments, the type and the model of free institutions throughout the globe, and the one only security and guarantee for the rights and the liberties and the property of all Her Majesty's subjects.

... You are asked to stake upon the hazard of a die the authority and

the influence, perhaps even the existence, of the empire. All I can say is I will never be a party to such a dangerous and a ruinous speculation."

*June 4, 1885.*—"Mr. Gladstone has removed two of the greatest grievances of Ireland. He has disestablished an alien Church and he has reformed the land laws. But there remains a question as important, possibly more important, than both these two, and that is to give, in Mr. Gladstone's own words, the widest possible self-government to Ireland, which is consistent with the maintenance of the integrity of the empire."

*June 13, 1885.*—"We have to recognise and to satisfy the national senti-

*July 6, 1886.*—"That is the price you are asked to pay for enabling the Irish to manage their own affairs—in other words, for allowing the enemies of England to set up a rival Parliament in Dublin."

*August 26, 1886.*—"It is only by the creation of a great scheme of peasant proprietorship, and doing what Germany, Russia, Bavaria, and other countries have done, that you can settle the Irish question."

*February 4, 1893.*—"We object to Home Rule because we believe



ment which both in Scotland and in Ireland has led to a demand for the control of purely domestic affairs. And these objects can only be secured, I believe, by some great measure of devolution, by which the Imperial Parliament shall maintain its supremacy, but shall nevertheless relegate to subordinate authorities the control and administration of their local business.

. . . I believe that in the successful solution of this question lies the only hope of the pacification of Ireland and of the maintenance of the strength and integrity of the empire which are in danger, which are gravely compromised so long as an integral portion of Her Majesty's dominions can only be governed by exceptional legislation."

that it would be dangerous to the security of this country ; and it would be a base desertion of our loyal fellow-subjects in that country if we were to hand them over to the Roman Catholic priests and to the delegates of the National League."

*February 4, 1893.* —  
"Home Rule as a practical policy is as dead as Queen Anne."

*April 10, 1893* (Second Home Rule Bill).—"We are asked to stake the dignity, the influence, the honour, and the wealth of the nation upon this cast. We are asked to do it because we are told we ought to have faith and trust in the Nationalist Members. We are to do it on the assurance that the Prime Minister gives us that a miracle will be wrought in our favour to

change the hearts of men and alter the springs of human action. Sir, I say the possible danger is too great and the possible gain is too small."

*February* 13, 1896.—  
"The basis of our objection to Home Rule for Ireland is that it would endanger the security of this country."

#### RETENTION OF IRISH MEMBERS.

*May* 7, 1886.—"The key of the position is the maintenance of the full representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament."

*July* 13, 1893.—"The issue is whether the interests of Great Britain are to be controlled by delegates from Ireland, nominated by priests, elected by illiterates, and subsidised by the enemies of this country."

#### COERCION.

*June* 7, 1881.—"For my part I hate coercion: I hate the name and I hate the thing."

*September* 26, 1888.—  
"Coercion—that is to say, the force which is necessary in order to maintain the law of the land."

*October 25, 1881. —*

“With the Tories coercion is a policy ; with us it is only a hateful incident.”

*June 3, 1885. —* “Coercion may be necessary at times. . . . But coercion is for an emergency.”

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

*October 25, 1881. —*

“That bourne from which no Liberal bill returns.”

*October 20, 1884. —*

“That Club of Tory landlords which in its Gilded Chamber has disposed of the welfare of the people with almost exclusive regard to the interests of a class.”

*October 20, 1884. —*

The peers “are ancient monuments, and I, for one, should be very sorry to deface them ; but, gen-

*March 19, 1892. —*

“Although the House of Peers is a good deal threatened nowadays, in all probability it will outlive most of us and will remain for several generations to come—a picturesque and a stately, if not a supremely important, part of the British Constitution.”

*June 2, 1894. —* “I say

the Lords have but done their duty. They have appealed to the nation to decide between them and



lemen, I do not admit that we can build upon these interesting ruins the foundations of our Government."

*October 20, 1884.*—"The chronicles of the House of Lords are one long record of concessions delayed until they have lost their grace, of rights denied until extorted from their fears."

*October 20, 1884.*—"We have been too long a peer-ridden nation."

*October 20, 1884.*—"I have no spite against the House of Lords, but as a Dissenter I have an account to settle with them, and I promise you I will not forget the reckoning. . . . The cup is nearly full."

*October 1, 1885.*—"The House of Lords

the Government on this great issue."

*February 8, 1894.*—"What are you going to attack the House of Lords for? This cry about the House of Lords is a purely artificial one; it is got up for party purposes."

*December 8, 1898.*—"The House of Lords destroyed the Home Rule Bill, and for that alone it has earned the undying gratitude of this generation."

*February 8, 1894.*—"The Lords have exercised their constitutional right; they have the right

has always been the obsequious handmaid of the Tory party."

*October* 14, 1885.—

"There is the question of mending or ending the Second Chamber, which, without any pretence to popular authority, nevertheless arrogates to itself the right of delaying, disfiguring, and sometimes destroying all the work which is carried out by the other branch of the Legislature."

to examine bills and, if they see fit, to amend and improve them."

*October* 16, 1894.—

"I am no apologist for the constitution of the House of Lords; I am no defender of hereditary legislation; but I am a strong upholder of a Second Chamber, and until you can find me a better I am going to stick to the House of Lords."

#### PLURAL REPRESENTATION.

*March* 27, 1884.—

"What I care about is that one equal value shall be given to every vote in every case."

*January* 29, 1885.—

"I am in favour of the principle of one man one vote, and I object altogether to the plural repre-

*April* 30, 1895.—

"There is the case of persons who hold two estates or two properties in different constituencies, but who only reside upon one. These persons are absentee voters, although they have substantial local interests and qualifications; and as to them I

sentation of property. . . .  
If we are to make a distinction, I am not quite certain whether it is not the poor man who ought to have more votes than the rich one."

*March 3, 1891.*—"I have spoken on more than one occasion in favour of uniformity of the franchise."

will say that, as the original basis of the franchise undoubtedly was local interest and qualification, you are going to make a very serious constitutional change if you deprive them of their votes."

*April 30, 1895.*—"But a still stronger case is the case of persons with double residences. That is a case of the greatest importance; and if hon. gentlemen think they have got a good electoral cry in abolishing the plural votes of these people they will find they are greatly mistaken."

#### EQUAL ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

*March 27, 1884.*—"I don't care a straw for equal electoral districts."

*March 3, 1891.*—"I have spoken in favour of equal electoral districts. . . . I am still in favour of all those reforms."

### INNUENDO AGAINST RUSSIA.

*February* 4, 1878.—  
 “Throughout the speeches of members of the Government there ran one continual innuendo against the good faith of Russia. They had put on the conduct of the Russian Government and on the words of her diplomatists and the action of her emperor the most offensive possible construction, and the result was great indignation on the part of the Russian people against this country.”

*May* 13, 1898.—(Referring to the methods by which Russia secured the occupation of Port Arthur): “Who sups with the devil must have a long spoon.”

### LABOUR REPRESENTATIVES.

*January* 29, 1885.—“I rejoice to think that under the altered conditions opportunity will be found to give to Mr. Burt and Mr. Broadhurst, who have represented the cause of labour with so much ability and so much independence in the present

*September* 29, 1900.—  
 “I have been for nearly five-and-twenty years in Parliament; during that time I have known every self-called champion of labour who has ever sat in that great assembly, and to the best of my recollection not a single



Parliament, colleagues who will follow their example and who will strengthen their hands."

*June 9, 1893.*—"I think I can speak for the working classes in Birmingham and the district. Their feeling is, that all the restrictions which they believe to be greatly to the advantage of the working classes which have been secured by legislation, have been secured, in the first instance, against the wishes of the employers of labour, by the efforts of the Trades Unions and the special representatives of the working classes."

*January, 1884.*—"It is ridiculous for Trades Unionists to pretend that they can keep themselves outside politics. The exclusion of politics from

one of these gentlemen has ever initiated or carried legislation for the benefit of the working classes, but they have hindered it occasionally. When they come into Parliament their only use is as items in a voting machine."

*June 2, 1894.*—"I say that the present so-called labour members in the House of Commons are notoriously, and in the sight of every man, mere

the sphere of Trades Union work would be a practical abnegation of the most vital interests of the working classes."

fetchers and carriers for the Gladstonian party."

#### REPUBLIC.

*September 12, 1870.*—Supports a resolution rejoicing that the irrepressible instinct of the French people for the divine right of self-government has led to the re-establishment of their Republic.

1872.—"Very few intelligent people do not now hold that the best form of government for a free and enlightened people is that of a Republic."

*July 29, 1889.*—"Hon. members tell us it is a shameful thing to fawn upon a monarch. So it is; but it is a still more shameful thing to truckle to a multitude. . . . We enjoy the fullest measure of political liberty under a constitution which is more democratic than exists in any Republic of Europe or of the world."

#### DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION.

1870.—"If the resolutions of the School Board are carried into effect, numbers of children now enjoying the luxury of a sectarian education at the

*February 21, 1890.*—"It is proposed that when additional grants are given to all schools there should be popular control of Voluntary

expense of the private supporters of denominational schools will enjoy that luxury at the expense of the ratepayers. This iniquity I and my colleagues have resisted, and will continue to resist, holding the opinion that in schools supported by the rates denominationalists have no right to interfere."

*January 24, 1872.* —  
"The representatives of the ratepayer must have absolute control of all national funds applied to secular education ; all grants for this purpose made to denominational bodies must be withdrawn."

#### DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

*April 3, 1872.*—"Let the State keep to its proper work and fit its children to take their places as citizens of a

schools. This proposal is on the face of it ridiculous. . . . I do not say it is undesirable, but I say it would be ridiculous to suppose that the supporters of Voluntary schools would accept any such plan. The proposal, in short, is a proposal for the extinction of the Voluntary system. Very well, that is a practically intolerable proposition."

*June 29, 1891.*—"You have to tell the ratepayers that if they want Board schools instead of Voluntary schools they have to

great empire, and let it leave their religious training, and all that concerns their education for the kingdom which is not of this world, to the care of the Churches and the responsibility of the parents."

*January, 1877.*—"The efforts of all lovers of justice, and of all friends of education, must now be directed to the establishment of the principle that representation shall go hand in hand with taxation, and that no grant of national or local funds shall be made to any school a majority of whose managing body does not consist of representatives elected by the district for the purpose."

*October 1, 1885.*—"To my mind the spectacle of

find something like forty millions in cash and an extra rate of two millions a year. I do not believe that the people of this country are prepared to pay that price for what is only a counsel of perfection."

*June 29, 1891.*—"However desirable this



so-called national schools turned into a private preserve by clerical managers, and used for exclusive purposes of politics or religion, is one which the law ought not to tolerate."

public control of Voluntary schools may be, it is impossible, as a matter of policy, to secure it by forcing it on the Voluntary schools."

#### DISESTABLISHMENT.

*October, 1874.*—"The separation of Church and State . . . has been felt by every member of the Liberal party to be at some time or other inevitable, although many have been glad enough to postpone its immediate consideration. There are plain indications that the time is approaching when men must definitely take sides on the question which may well be the new point of departure for the Liberal party."

*March 30, 1892.*—"It is neither defensible in principle nor in policy to put this question (Disestablishment) forward to the exclusion of every other."

*September 29, 1887.*—"The question of religious equality . . . is ripe for

discussion and for public consideration, and it ought not to be put aside."

*September 15, 1885.*—

"For political as well as for social reasons, and in the interest of religion itself, I am a Liberationist."

*October 13, 1891.*—"I

have voted for Disestablishment because I thought that in the interests of religion, in the interests of the Church itself, and in the interests of the harmony of all classes of the nation it would be better that the Church should depend upon the devotion and the loyalty and the self-sacrifice of its own supporters rather than that it should accept the invidious assistance and control of the State."

*November 22, 1894.*—

"You may, if you like, try to disestablish and disendow the Church in Wales, and if you succeed, in my opinion—although I sympathise with the object as a matter of abstract principle—nobody will be one penny the better for it."

#### LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

*February 10, 1880.*—

"The Conservative party

*July 6, 1895* (Local

Veto Bill).—"It proposes

had played into the hands of the publicans and contracted with them a degrading alliance."

*October 14, 1885 (Liquor Traffic).*—"We trust the people, and we trust them wholly; and we are willing that the whole of this great question should be left absolutely to the representative authorities which will be elected throughout the country."

*May, 1876 (The Right Method with the Publicans).*—"No doubt there are causes at work which tend to the ultimate eradication of everything, but why must the present generation go on wearing the devil's chain? It is no comfort to families

to deal with the private property of men who are, for the main part, just as respectable as any other tradesmen."

*July 6, 1895 (Local Veto Bill).*—"I protest against this bill. . . . It proposes to interfere with public-houses, which are the convenience and the meeting-place of the working classes, and to leave untouched the private cellars and clubs and even the railway stations, which are frequented by the well-to-do."

*July 6, 1895 (Opposing Local Veto Bill).*—"If you want to stop drinking—if you think it impossible, which I do not, to stop drunkenness without stopping drinking—then be consistent: take the rich as well as the poor. If you want to stop drink-

whose happiness has been wrecked and their homes made desolate by the drunkenness of some relative to hear that in a century or two a millennium may be expected in which the evils of drinking will disappear?"

ing, have the courage of your opinions and make drinking a penal offence; or if you won't do that, at all events make laws against the sale and against the manufacture of liquor under all circumstances."

#### ARISTOCRACY.

*September 24, 1885.*—

"I have been made the mark for the malignant hatred of the aristocratic and landowning classes."

*July 24, 1885.*—"The democratic revolution is not to be accomplished by aristocratic perverts."

*October 14, 1885.*—"I cannot call to mind one single great or beneficent reform which has been promoted at the instigation of the landed gentry, or which has not received their persistent hostility."

*June 3, 1905.*—"I have the highest respect for dukes and for all the aristocracy."



## MR. GLADSTONE.

*June 3, 1885.*—"Mr. Gladstone will stand before posterity as the greatest man of his time."

*December 19, 1882.*—"The noblest figure in English political history."

*December 19, 1882.*—"So far from Mr. Gladstone being a tyrant, I say there is no man in the House of Commons—I do not believe there is any man in the country—who is so ready to receive suggestions, so anxious to appreciate the case of an opponent, so willing to give consideration to any new light that can be thrown upon a subject."

*December 19, 1882.*—"Fifty years of honoured and honourable public life."

*June 3, 1885.*—"Remarkable for his personal

*July 8, 1892.*—"The furious mob orator! He appears to be losing his head and losing his temper."

*July 2, 1886.*—"You have a Prime Minister in the very height of his popularity, turning round upon himself and making an abject surrender to a vile conspiracy."

*April 10, 1890.*—"The bidding of an imperious leader."

*July 27, 1903.*—"It is always the voice of a god! Never since the time of Herod has there been such slavish adulation."

*April 10, 1890.*—"Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule

character and for the high tone that he has introduced into our political and public life."

policy was conceived in secrecy, was born in deceit, and it has been nurtured on evasion."

LORD SALISBURY.

*October* 25, 1881.—

"Lord Salisbury's memory is notorious."

*March* 30, 1883 —

"Lord Salisbury surveys the Liberal policy with jaundiced eyes, through glasses which are coloured by temper and by prejudice."

*March* 30, 1883.—

"Lord Salisbury constitutes himself the spokesman of the class 'who toil not, neither do they spin.'"

*April* 28, 1885.—"The speeches are distinguished by the characteristic invective of the noble lord, also by his characteristic inaccuracy."

*October* 1, 1885.—

("Peace with Honour!")

"But all the honour Salisbury hath won  
Is that he was the Lord Ambassador."

*November* 30, 1899.—

"Nothing that Lord Salisbury said of me, and nothing that I ever said of him, ever prevented our co-operating cordially upon what, fortunately, we were both able to believe was for the interests of the nation. When we came together to look at the merits of some of those propositions which otherwise might have been the subject of party criticism we found that we were entirely agreed."

## WAR WITH BOERS.

*May* 8, 1896.—“War with the Boers would leave behind it embers of a strife which generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish.”

*March* 20, 1902.—“We are establishing British supremacy, and when we have established British supremacy I for one do not anticipate those terrible consequences from the racial feeling which now prevails at the present time.”

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

*March* 17, 1891.—“My own ideas, my own plans,” for making provision for old age.

*July* 8, 1892.—“You know perfectly well that for some years I have been advocating a system of old - age pensions.”

*July* 2, 1892.—“I ask you to pledge yourselves to the great principle that it is the duty of the State to provide for the veterans of industry just

*May* 29, 1901.—“This question of old-age pensions, as it is sometimes called, although that is a description which I personally dislike.”

*April* 24, 1899.—“It was a proposal, not a promise.”

as it provides for the veterans of the army and navy."

*July* 16, 1892.—"My old-age pension scheme holds the field."

*July* 12, 1895.—"My proposal, broadly, is so simple that any one can understand it."

*April* 4, 1894.—"I look forward to the time when some Minister will be found bold enough to propose to lay aside experimentally what may be considered a reasonable sum towards the commencement of a system of old-age pensions, and if that is satisfactory, I am not disposed to place any limit on its ultimate development."

*May* 3, 1894.—"I want to give facilities to working men—to all men, ay! and to all women, to make provision against their old age."

*October* 25, 1901.—"I never promised old-age pensions."

1905 (Letter to Sir F. Milner).—"I have never in my life made a definite promise of old-age pensions."

1899.—"Any universal scheme for giving pensions to everybody is beyond the resources of the State."

*September* 29, 1900.—"What I promised was not universal old-age pensions, which I do not believe in."



*May 3, 1894.*—"The Government (Liberal) have appointed a Commission to inquire into the subject. That has meant a delay of two years. I think myself the time might have been employed in inquiring into the details of a practicable measure."

*November 15, 1898.*—"I do not think it is possible immediately to deal with this question. There are financial considerations to be taken into account, and there are other matters, perhaps, which may have a still more pressing claim upon the Government."

## FREE TRADE AND PROTECTION.

### COBDEN'S PREDICTIONS.

*July 1, 1883* (a Sunday paper had said Cobden would be chiefly known as the author of a number of predictions which had been falsified by events).—"Nearly nineteen centuries have passed, and still the doctrines of the Christian religion have not received universal acceptance, and I suppose we should think it a little presumptuous, even in a Sunday paper with a

*October 7, 1903.*—"There was nothing upon which Mr. Cobden was more assured, than that Free Trade was such a good thing that if we gave the example every other nation would follow us. . . . Well, I do not believe that all those people (Americans, Germans, French) are fools, and when I find that they absolutely refuse to adopt the Cobdenite principle,

limited circulation, to describe the apostles as very worthy fishermen who were chiefly to be remembered as the authors of a variety of predictions which have been falsified by events."

and to accept Free Trade, I say to myself, it is worth thinking over."

#### ONE-SIDED FREE TRADE.

*March 24, 1882.*—"The conclusion to be drawn from the facts before us is that our present system of one-sided Free Trade, as hon. gentlemen opposite call it, is absolutely the very best that can be devised with regard to British interests and the interests of British trade."

• • • • •  
"Even if other countries have progressed more than we have, I should have said that that proved nothing either for or against Protection, because in dealing with this matter it must be borne in

*February 16, 1905.*—"Free imports are not Free Trade. They stand in the way of freer trade. We have never had Free Trade."

*October 6, 1903.*—"The protected countries have progressed in an infinitely better proportion than ourselves."

mind what a multiplicity of factors we have to take into consideration in estimating the relative progress of foreign nations compared with our own."

*June 13, 1885.*—"Although we cannot show any great change of opinion in foreign countries, yet at least we can find in their experience conclusive proof of the soundness of Mr. Cobden's doctrines and a great cause of congratulation with this country."

*November 4, 1903.*—"How do our opponents account for the fact that every foreign country without exception, which has adopted Protection, has, in recent years at any rate, progressed much more rapidly, in much greater proportion than we, the Free Trade country of the world?"

#### EXCESS OF IMPORTS.

*June 13, 1881.*—"The imports from France to this country have not shown any steady or consistent increase. Even if they had, I should differ from the hon. member in considering that state of things injurious to this country."

*October 7, 1903.*—"As soon as tariffs were raised against us, our exports to the countries which raised them have been continually decreasing. Yes, but that is not all. If their prosperity had been going down in equal proportion, it would have been no

*October* 26, 1881. —  
“The object of the Fair Traders is to increase our exports by lessening our imports. I really don’t know which to admire more—the wisdom or the practicability of these proposals. It seems that if we wish to attain the height of national prosperity we can do so if we only contrive somehow or another to reverse the conditions which Mr. Micawber laid down as constituting the height of individual felicity. Mr. Micawber said that if your incomings were £20 and your outgoings £19 19s. 6d. the result was happiness, and that if your incomings were £20 and your outgoings £20 os. 6d. the result was misery. This is precisely the result which the Fair Traders desire to produce in our national relations.”

argument at all. But while our exports to them have been continually decreasing, their exports to us have been continually increasing.”



*August 12, 1881.*—"An excess of imports over exports causes much anxiety to a certain class of persons in this country, and is regarded by them as a sign of weakness and a proof of our commercial decline. I consider it, on the contrary, as a fact which ought to give us the greatest satisfaction."

*March 30, 1895.*—"The real fact is that every pennyworth of foreign goods that comes into this country is paid for by a similar amount of English goods, either English goods directly, or English work in the shape of, for instance, the freight of shipping transport."

*October 7, 1903.*—"In the course of the twenty years since 1882, the total imports of foreign manufactures have increased 64,000,000. Meanwhile, our exports of manufactures to these countries have increased 12,000,000. So that, on the balance, we have lost 52,000,000. . . . What would this 52,000,000 of money have given to you if you had been able to keep it? It would have provided subsistence for one and a half million of people."

#### STATE OF TRADE.

*March 31, 1897.*—"Let us have confidence in the future. I do not ask you to anticipate

*October 6, 1903.*—"If our Imperial trade declines, or if it does not increase in proportion to

with Lord Macaulay the time when the New Zealander will come here to gaze upon the ruins of a great dead city. No; I see no signs of decrepitude or decay."

*January 6, 1902.*—"I see no signs of any imminent or pressing danger to the prosperity of the country. During the last five years we have enjoyed an unparalleled condition of trade, and although we cannot expect that to last for ever, and although there are some signs that trade is not as brisk as it was, the prospects are extremely good, and I am not at all disposed to take a pessimistic view of the future."

our population and to the loss of trade with foreign countries, then we sink at once into a fifth-rate nation. Our fate will be the fate of the empires and kingdoms of the past."

*October 6, 1903.*—"I tell you that it is not well to-day with British industry."

"I see signs of decay in British trade, I see cracks and crevices in the walls of the great structure, I know that the foundations upon which it has been raised are not broad enough or deep enough to sustain it."

#### TAX ON FOOD.

*August 12, 1881.*—"Is any one bold enough to propose that we should put duties upon food?"

*October 6, 1903.*—"I propose to put a low duty on foreign corn, not exceeding 2s. a quarter."

*August 12, 1881.*—"A tax on food would mean a decline in wages; it would certainly involve a reduction in their productive value; it would raise the price of every article produced in the United Kingdom; and it would indubitably bring about the loss of our gigantic export trade."

*November 7, 1885.*—"If you are going to tax the bread of the people you will affect every household in the land, and you will throw back the working classes of this country to the starvation wages and to the destitution from which Mr. Gladstone and Sir Robert Peel relieved them."

*June 26, 1903.*—"Even suppose the tax upon corn increases the price of bread, does that necessarily increase the cost of living? Man does not live by bread alone."

*November 4, 1903.*—"Let us get rid of all this idea that Protection is immediately followed by starvation and destitution. This is absolutely untrue. Let us get rid of the idea that Free Trade necessarily brings prosperity. That is altogether untrue."

#### COLONIAL PREFERENCE AND FOOD TAX.

1882.—"The transfer of the importation of corn from foreign countries to our colonies will be the

1903.—"Without preferential treatment of the colonies we shall lose the colonies."

worse for us; it will deviate capital from growing corn to manufactures."

*March 24, 1882.*—"I do not know whether Mr. Staveley Hill thinks you can tax food without raising its price. I would at any rate lay down the axiom that that is impossible; and it is only by increasing the price that the object of Mr. Ecroyd (in promoting a colonial union) can be achieved."

*November 7, 1885.*—"Lord Salisbury says he is anxious to induce the colonies to take off their tariffs by giving them the advantages of a differential tariff whenever they do so. But the only goods the colonies send us are food and raw materials, and therefore Lord Salisbury is convicted out of his own mouth, for he is going

*October 6, 1903.*—"If you wish to have colonial preference, you must put a tax on food. . . . Nothing that I propose would add one farthing to the cost of living."



to put a differential duty on the beef, the corn, the sugar, and the other necessities of the working man's home."

## CHEAP IMPORTS.

*June 13, 1885.*—"I will call your attention to the case of the boot and shoe trade, which happens to be one of the most prosperous of our industries now. This is a trade which has been created by our Free Trade system, and which depends upon the access which the manufacturers have to every market in the world for the supply of the raw material."

*June 26, 1903.*—"Surely it is a mathematical truth that if imports come into this country in competition with manufactured goods which we can make as well as any other nation, in regard to which no other nation has any special facilities or advantages of soil or climate or skill, if the imports of such manufactures come into this country in constantly increasing quantities they must displace labour, and although the result may be that these particular articles may be sold a little cheaper, what is the good of that to a man who cannot afford to buy them?"

## SHIPPING AND FREE TRADE.

*October 27, 1881.*—

“Great has been the extreme advance which has taken place in every branch of commercial enterprise; that advance has been more extraordinary, and, above all, more continuous, in shipping than in anything else, and I shall not forget—neither will you—that it has taken place under, and is, I believe, distinctly in consequence of, that entire freedom of trade which has marked the policy of this country for the last generation.”

*October 27, 1903.*—“I

say to those who are concerned in the shipping industry—you will benefit by this policy (Tariff Reform); you can't lose by it. . . . My case is that British shipping, admirable as its condition is in many respects, is not progressing so fast as foreign shipping. . . . What is the good of talking about your income-tax returns, or profit on the length of your voyages, when you know that behind you you have galloping up, at a greater rate than anything you can command, your bitterest and severest competitors and rivals?”

## EFFECT OF PROTECTION.

*April 28, 1885.*—“We

have only to recall the history of those times when Protection starved the poor, and when the

*November 4, 1903.*—

“Is it true that, at the time when Free Trade was introduced and the Corn Laws were repealed,

country was brought by it to the brink of revolution?"

*November 7, 1885.*—

... "Those bad times of Protection and of the Corn Laws which were responsible for the destitution and the starvation wages, from which your forefathers suffered so greatly."

*January 14, 1885.*—

"The condition of the farmer was never so hopeless, and the state of the labourer was never so abject, as when corn was kept up at a high value by a prohibitive or protective duty. The food of the people was taxed to raise the rents of the landlord."

*July 1, 1883.*—"The arguments against this system (of Protection), by which the few are enabled to enrich themselves at the expense of the many, remain absolutely unshaken, and I do not

we were in a state of destitution and misery and starvation? Is it true that under the Protection which prevailed before that, this country was going down in the scale of nations or losing its prosperity and losing its trade? No; absolutely not! The exact reverse was the case. There was a time of great prosperity in this country under Protection."

doubt that in the long run truth and reason will prevail."

#### EFFECT OF FREE TRADE.

*March 24, 1882.*—"I ask the House to reject the motion (for inquiry into foreign tariffs), because it appears to me to involve a reversal of the policy (of Free Trade) under which the prosperity of the country has increased and its resources have developed, under which wages have risen, the necessities of life become cheaper, and, above all, the causes of just discontent been removed, and much has been done to settle on a secure basis the foundations of settled government and social order."

*October 20, 1903.*—"While there has been a great increase of prosperity in this country, it has not been due, and it can be shown not to be due, to Free Trade, but it has been due to other things, of which Free Trade, however, may be one."

*November 4, 1903.*—"It is true that after the repeal of the Corn Laws this country entered on a period, which lasted for twenty-five years, of what I may call unparalleled prosperity. I do not deny it, but I say it had nothing whatever to do with the repeal of the Corn Laws, and very little to do with the introduction of Free Trade."



## EXTRACTS FROM MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECHES

### ECHOES OF RADICALISM

*"What I have said, I have said."*

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

SOME of them represent the oppression of Feudal lords in times gone by, when people were expected to be grateful for being ruled by the Aristocracy. In the second place, some of them represent the great wealth acquired by the possession of land in the vicinity of large towns—*e.g.*, Manchester and Birmingham—which land enriched its proprietors without care or labour on their part. And, lastly, they represent, and very imperfectly too in many cases, the brains, the intelligence, and the acquirements of ancestors long since dead, who unfortunately have been unable to transmit to their descendants the talents by which they rose. It was of such men as these that the greatest member of the House of Lords who ever sat in that body, Lord Bacon, related that it was customary to say in his time that they were like potatoes—the best part was underground.

(1869.)

Are the Lords to dictate to us, the people of England? Are the Lords to dictate to us the laws

which we shall make and the way in which we shall bring them in? Are you going to be governed by yourselves? Or will you submit to an oligarchy which is a mere accident of birth? Your ancestors resisted kings and abated the horde of monarchs, and it is inconceivable that you should be so careless of your great heritage as to submit your liberties to this miserable minority of individuals who rest their claims upon privileges and upon accident. . . . I have always thought the House of Lords was a very picturesque institution, attractive from its connection with the history of our country. I have no desire to see dull uniformity of social life; and I am rather thankful than otherwise to gentlemen who will take the trouble of wearing robes and coronets and who will keep up certain state and splendour which is very pleasing to look upon. They are ancient monuments, and I for one should be very sorry to deface them; but I do not admit that we can build upon these interesting ruins the foundations of our government. . . . The chronicles of the House of Lords are one long record of concessions delayed until they have lost their grace, of rights denied until extorted from their fears. It has been a history of one long contest between the representatives of privilege and the representatives of popular rights, and during this time the Lords have perverted, delayed, and denied justice until at last they gave grudgingly and churlishly what they could no longer withhold. In the meantime what mischief has been wrought, what evils have been deve-

loped that might have been stayed in their inception, what wrongs have been inflicted and endured that ought long ago to have been remedied! We are told that the object of the Second Chamber is to stay the gusts of popular agitation and to give the nation time for reflection. I defy any student of history to point to one single case in which the House of Lords has ever stayed the gust of public passion or checked a foolish popular impulse.

(DENBIGH, *October 20, 1884.*)

#### LORDS AND DISSENTERS.

I have no spite against the House of Lords, but as a Dissenter I have an account to settle with them, and I promise you I will not forget the reckoning. I boast a descent of which I am as proud as any baron may be of the title which he owes to the smiles of a king or to the favour of a king's mistress, for I can claim descent from one of the two thousand ejected ministers who, in the time of the Stuarts, left home and work and profit rather than accept the State-made creed which it was sought to force upon them, and for that reason, if for no other, I share your hopes and your aspirations; and I resent the insults, the injuries, and the injustice from which you have suffered so long at the hands of a privileged assembly. But the cup is nearly full. The career of high-handed wrong is coming to an end. The House of Lords have alienated Ireland, they have oppressed the Dissenters,

and they now oppose the enfranchisement of the people. We have been too long a peer-ridden nation, and I hope you will say to them, that if they will not bow to the mandate of the people they shall lose for ever the authority which they have so long abused.

(DENBIGH, *October 20, 1884.*)

### HOUSE OF LORDS.

It is said that the peers will not give way. Then I say, neither will the people submit. We are in favour of government by the people and for the people, and we repudiate the presumptuous claim to usurp the prerogative of the Crown, to degrade the House of Commons, and humiliate all who bear the name or claim the rights of free men. We grudge the Lords nothing that rightly belongs to them, nothing they can enjoy without injury to others—their rank and title, their stars and garters, any influence which their personal qualities can gain for them, any power that they may secure by long prescription and high station; but their claim to dictate the laws which we shall make, the way in which we shall govern ourselves—to spoil, delay, even reject measures demanded by the popular voice, passed after due discussion by a majority of the people's House, and receiving the sanction and confirmation of popular assemblies—is a claim contrary to reason, opposed to justice, and which we will resist to the death.

(HANLEY, *October 7, 1884.*)



## HOME RULE.

What are the great problems of the future? We have to deal with obstruction in the House of Commons. We have to deal with the system under which the greatest legislative assemblage in the world has begun to lose its usefulness, and in consequence lose its influence. And that result can never be accomplished so long as the Imperial Parliament is burdened with an ever-increasing amount of petty detail with which it is incompetent to deal, and which ought to be referred to other bodies. We have also to recognise [and to satisfy the national sentiment, which is in itself a praiseworthy and a patriotic and an inspiring feeling, and which both in Scotland and Ireland has led to a demand for a local control of purely domestic affairs. And these objects can only be secured, I believe, by some great measure of devolution, by which Imperial Parliament shall maintain its supremacy, but shall nevertheless relegate to subordinate authorities the control and administration of their local business. I believe, gentlemen, that in this way only is there any chance of our being able to remove the deeply-rooted discontent which follows as a natural consequence from the attempt of one nation to control and interfere with the domestic and the social economy of another, whose genius it does not understand, whose pressing necessities it is not in a position to appreciate, whose business it has not time to attend to, and whose prejudices and whose pre-

ferences it is impossible, even with the very best intentions, to avoid sometimes ignoring or offending. I look forward with confidence to the opportunity which will be afforded in the new Parliament for the consideration of this most momentous question, and I believe that in the successful accomplishment of its solution lies the only hope of the pacification of Ireland, and of the maintenance of the strength and integrity of the empire which are in danger, which are gravely compromised so long as an integral portion of Her Majesty's dominions can only be governed by exceptional legislation, and so long as it, in consequence, continues to be discontented and estranged.

(COBDEN CLUB, *June 13, 1885.*)

### IRELAND, "A POLAND!"

When the conspirators have been crushed out, what are we to do for the Irish people? How are we to meet the discontent which it is admitted still prevails? Does the right hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Gibson) really think it is possible we can go on governing Ireland permanently by a system of absolute repression and nothing else? How long will such a policy bear the test of experience? How long is England's danger to be Ireland's opportunity? How long do you suppose the people of this country would tolerate a policy which involved the existence of a Poland within four hours of our shores? I say that a policy of that kind will break down in practice as it deserves to break down, and

thus you will be once more face to face with what has been truly called the greatest problem of our time.

(HOUSE OF COMMONS, *February 23, 1883.*)

#### BUREAUCRATIC IRELAND.

The pacification of Ireland at this moment does, I believe, depend upon the concession to Ireland of the right to govern itself in the matter of its purely domestic business. What is the alternative? Are you content, after eighty years of failure, to renew once more the dreary experience of repressive legislation? Is it not discreditable to us, that even now it is only by unconstitutional means that we are able to secure peace and order in one portion of Her Majesty's dominions? I do not believe that the great majority of Englishmen have the slightest conception of the system under which this free nation attempts to rule a sister country. It is a system which is founded on the bayonets of 30,000 soldiers, encamped permanently as in a hostile country. It is a system as completely centralised and bureaucratic as that with which Russia governs Poland, or as that which was common in Venice under the Austrian rule. An Irishman at this moment cannot move a step, he cannot lift a finger, in any parochial, municipal, or educational work without being confronted and controlled by an English official appointed by a foreign Government—and without a shade or shadow of representative authority. I say the time has come to reform

altogether the absurd and irritating anachronism which is known as Dublin Castle, to sweep away altogether these alien boards and foreign officials, and to substitute for them a genuine Irish administration of purely Irish business.

(ISLINGTON, *June 17, 1885.*)

### BURDEN OF EMPIRE.

Mr. Chamberlain repudiates the idea of annexation, of a Protectorate, or even of an indefinite supervision of Egypt, and he proceeds : The time has gone by when Lord Beaconsfield could truly declare that the policy of the English Government embraced the extension of the empire. We think our possessions are sufficiently ample, our duties and responsibilities too onerous and complicated. We think that to govern well and wisely the people who already own our sway, is a task for the most magnificent ambition and most exalted patriotism. If we were tempted by the present opportunity, by visions of advantage to ourselves, or even by the hope of material benefit to the Egyptian people, to add this additional load to the heavy burden of empire we already bear, we, or our descendants, would surely rue the day when, without regard to the experience of the past, and in spite of the difficulties which we have faced in governing one race by another, we created a new Ireland for ourselves in the East.

(*December 19, 1882.*)



## BLUSTER.

By the reform of local government we will do more to secure the strength, the character, and the influence of the nation than by the addition of any amount, however large, to the expenditure of the nation for naval or military purposes—that it will go further to maintain our weight in the Councils of Europe than any amount of bluster in our relations with foreign countries, and that it will do more to promote the true interests of the people of the United Kingdom than any extension of the empire, which it is our business to govern well and wisely before we seek to multiply our responsibilities or enlarge our obligations.

(HOLLOWAY, *June 17, 1885.*)

## MR. GLADSTONE.

The Tories have two alternative views which they take of Mr. Gladstone's character. Sometimes they say that he is a tyrannical dictator, trampling down all opposition and dragging at his heels a reluctant party through devious and dangerous paths ; and then again they say that he is a man pressed on from behind—a mere puppet and tool in the hands of designing politicians of the Radical stamp who lead him he knows not whither. It is quite clear that both these accounts cannot be true at the same time ; and it does not require much perspicuity to declare that both are false. So far from Mr. Gladstone being a tyrant, I say there is no man in the House of Commons—I do not believe there is any man in the country—who is

so ready to receive suggestions, so anxious to appreciate the case of an opponent, so willing to give consideration to any new light which can be thrown upon a subject. He is only too generous and considerate to his opponents. It is, however, perhaps this open-mindedness which is in itself one of the secrets of his success ; and when you add to that his unequalled ability, his marvellous and unparalleled eloquence, his extensive knowledge of men and things, and the vast experience which fifty years of honoured and honourable public life have given him, who can wonder at the affection and devotion of his fellow-countrymen ? The Prime Minister stands a head and shoulders above all his compeers—the noblest figure in English political history.

*(December 19, 1882.)*

When the history of the last five years comes to be written, you know whose will be the central and the prominent figure. You know that Mr. Gladstone will stand out before posterity as the greatest man of his time—remarkable not only for his extraordinary eloquence, for his great ability, for his steadfastness of purpose, for his constructive skill, but more, perhaps, than all these, for his personal character, and for the high tone that he has introduced into our political and public life. I sometimes think that great men are like great mountains, and that we do not appreciate their magnitude while we are still close to them. You have to go to a distance to see which peak it is that towers above

its fellows ; and it may be that we shall have to put between us and Mr. Gladstone a space of time before we shall know how much greater he has been than any of his competitors for fame and power. I am certain that justice will be done to him in the future, and I am not less certain that there will be a signal condemnation of the men who, moved by motives of party spite, in their eagerness for office, have not hesitated to load with insult and indignity the greatest statesman of our time—who have not allowed even his age, which should have commanded their reverence, or his experience, which entitles him to their respect, or his high personal character or his long services to his Queen and to his country, to shield him from the vulgar affronts and the lying accusations of which he has nightly been made the subject in the House of Commons. He, with his great magnanimity, can afford to forget and forgive these things. Those whom he has served so long it behoves to remember them, to resent them, and to punish them.

(BIRMINGHAM, *June 3, 1885.*)

#### CONDUCT OF CONSERVATIVES.

Here have the Conservatives been for the last five years, and especially for the last two, producing votes of censure as if by machinery with unexampled rapidity and extraordinary profusion ; they have censured everything we have done, they have censured everything we have left undone ; they have proposed to censure individual ministers, they

have proposed to censure the whole Government collectively. . . . (Mr. Gibson had said the Conservatives on taking office were entitled to fair play from their opponents.) . . . Is it fair play, in the midst of international complications of a dangerous and delicate character, to endeavour by every means to discredit and weaken the hands of the men who, in the name of the country, are carrying on momentous negotiations? Is it fair play to harass them with questions, and to examine and cross-examine them at a time when the public interests demand a prudent reserve, and when the issues of peace and war may be affected by even an involuntary indiscretion? Is it fair play to refuse the supplies which ministers of the Crown on their responsibility ask of the patriotism of the House of Commons in a time of great emergency? Is it fair play to denounce a pretended Kilmainham Treaty, which never existed, as a compact with rebels and assassins, and then to bargain again and again with these self-same rebels for the support by which the Government may be overthrown? Is it fair play, at a time when the pressure and urgency of public business demands the whole attention of the House of Commons, to connive tacitly at obstructive proceedings, and even occasionally actively to participate in them? Lastly, gentlemen, I ask you, is it fair play to meet with contumely and unmannerly interruptions the Prime Minister of the Empire in the discharge of his high functions? Is it fair play to ignore the decencies of debate and to lower the dignity of the



House of Commons in order to embarrass a statesman who, with a load of years upon his head and with the almost intolerable burdens of the Empire upon his shoulders, has been called upon again and again to bear the brunt of personal malignity and of studied disrespect? Yet these are the tactics which we have been taught during the last five years to associate with the conduct of what called itself the patriotic Opposition.

(HOLLOWAY, *June 17, 1885.*)

#### CONSERVATIVES AND PARNELLITES.

In pursuance of a compact they had made with the Parnellite party—in pursuance of this bargain, for which they were called upon to pay a price—their leaders got up in the House of Commons the other day and separated themselves ostentatiously from Lord Spencer, and any approval of his administration. I say even by this one act the Tories have done more to lessen the authority of the law in Ireland than all the Radicals have said and done during the past five years, we might almost say than all the Nationalist members ever have said or done, because the effect of the Tory action has been to show that the maintenance of law and order is not a matter of principle, is not a matter of conviction, is not a matter even of State policy, but is a matter of the meanest party interest and party consideration.

The consistency of our public life, the honour of political controversy, the patriotism of statesmen which

should be set above all party considerations—these are the things which in the last few weeks have been profaned and trampled in the mire by this crowd of hungry office-seekers, who are now doing Radical work in the uniform of Tory Ministers. After a speech of mine the other night a member of the House of Commons came up and said, “My dear fellow, pray be careful what you say, for if you were to speak disrespectfully of the Ten Commandments, I believe Balfour would bring in a bill to-morrow to repeal them.”

(HACKNEY, *July 24, 1885.*)

#### STOP-GAP TORY GOVERNMENT.

I look forward with interest to the spectacle, which I believe will shortly be presented, of a great party, with indecent expedition, hastening to divest itself of a whole wardrobe of pledges and professions which it has accumulated during the past few years, stripping off every rag of consistency, and standing up naked and not ashamed in order that it may squeeze itself into office. That is the position, gentlemen. It is only upon those terms that what will be known in history as the Stop-gap Government can invite the toleration of its opponents. They must not undo our work. They must not jeopardise the results already accomplished. They must continue on the main lines of the policy that they have so often and so vehemently condemned. But if they are willing to do that, for my part I see no reason why they should not

remain as caretakers on the premises until the new tenants are ready in November for a prolonged—and, I hope, permanent—occupation.

(COEDEN CLUB, *June 13, 1885.*)

#### CONSERVATIVES AND POLITICAL AGITATION.

The Conservative party has for years past played with every political agitation that has been excited. It was the members of that party who denounced, for instance, the agitation for the extension of the franchise, and then came over and granted it. It was they who denounced the proceedings of the Trades Unions and the object of those bodies; and it was they who, when they came into power, conceded to Trades Unions almost everything which they had previously condemned. Lastly, they had played into the hands of the publicans, and contracted with them a degrading alliance.

(HOUSE OF COMMONS, *February 10, 1880.*)

#### DISESTABLISHMENT.

The separation of Church and State is not a new idea to Liberal politicians. It has been felt by every member of the party to be at some time or other inevitable, although many have been glad enough to postpone its immediate consideration. There are plain indications, however, that the time is approaching when men must definitely take sides on the question, which may well be the new point of departure for the Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone, it is true, commissioned his son to say

at Whitby that this page of Liberal history would not bear his name; but the rapidly-changing conditions of the problem may yet cause him to reconsider a decision which might place him, at no distant date, in opposition to the will of a clear majority of the nation. If, however, Mr. Gladstone feels that he has done his work, his worst enemies will admit that he has earned his right to repose. His absence from the field may alter the character of the battle, but will not delay the encounter nor change the fortunes of the fight. Great crises do not wait for leaders, but create or do without them. Meanwhile the conflict of parties on minor ecclesiastical questions is drawing attention more and more to the great issue which underlies them all, and which every day loses somewhat of its character as an abstract proposition, and gains in urgency and practical importance. . . . Everywhere the Church, as a political institution, is felt by reformers and Radicals to be hostile to social, intellectual, and political progress; everywhere the secular and ecclesiastical authorities are coming into collision; and nowhere is the ultimate issue doubtful.

*(Fortnightly Review, October, 1874.)*

#### DISESTABLISHMENT.

I am an English Nonconformist—bred and born in Dissent—and I am opposed, from honest conviction, to anything in the nature of State interference with, or State aid to, religion.

It seems to me that the underlying principle of all



Church Establishments is, that it is the duty of the State to support some form of religion. I think it follows from that that it must also be the duty of the State to take the responsibility of deciding what is the true form of religion ; because I cannot conceive of anything more flagrantly immoral than that the secular authority should deliberately foster error. Now, gentlemen, such assumptions as these have been held in past times to justify religious persecution ; because if it be the duty of the State to encourage truth, it is a perfectly consistent argument to say that it is also its duty to discourage error. And opinions have been changed, sometimes, no doubt, by bribes and inducements to their adoption, but quite as frequently by pains and penalties against their rejection. It was assumptions of this kind that lighted the fires of Smithfield, and that drove the Puritans from England and the Huguenot from France. It was such views that harried the Vaudois on their Alps and persecuted your Scottish Covenanters on the mountains, where they sought to worship God according to their consciences. Even now in these milder times it is the same pretension which justifies sectarian bigotry and disqualifications imposed on any form of religious belief. I say that to my mind it is impossible to reconcile these things with the cardinal principles of our common Liberalism. If a man has a right to think out for himself his religious faith, to hold it, and to teach it, he ought not to be either bribed or persecuted in

order to relinquish it, and the State oversteps its proper field of duty, and trespasses on religious equality and religious freedom, when it singles out any form of religious belief for its care, or any religious organisation for its special patronage. I might say, in addition to these considerations, that I think religion itself has always suffered by its connection with the State, and that no Church has ever existed in this position which has not lost something of its independence and its freedom when it became a department of the State. But there are other practical considerations which cannot be, I think, put altogether out of view; for exclusive ecclesiastic position tends directly to exclusive political faith, and I think you will find that Established Churches in all history have, by virtue of their establishment, been alienated more or less from the national sentiment and the national sympathy. I know that in England, at all events, history shows that the vast mass of our clergy have always resisted every attempt to extend the limits of freedom and have opposed every social and political reform. On the other hand, the ministers of the dissenting sects have been their warmest and their heartiest advocates. You cannot find the cause of this in the men. Human nature is the same whether it be in an Establishment or outside it. You must find it in the system, which has a narrowing effect, and tends to alienate all its supporters from the national movement. You must look to the same cause for the existence of sectarian bigotry, which, unfortunately, is too common.

I say, then, that for political as well as for social reasons, and in the interest of religion itself, I am a Liberationist. I would free the Church from State control, whether in England, in Scotland, or in Wales ; and my opinion on the subject is undoubtedly strengthened by my belief that the appropriation to the service of a single sect of funds which were originally designed for the benefit of the whole nation is an injustice.

(GLASGOW, *September 15*, 1885.)

#### DISSENT.

It is true that as Dissenters you are still somewhat handicapped in the race, and that there is one religious sect which enjoys the patronage of the State, and which is in possession of endowments and of privileges which are denied to other sects. But I am not certain that these privileges and endowments are unmixed advantages, and I have always held that the Church of England would gain if she abandoned them, if she rested upon voluntary support, and if she did without the assistance and the control of the State. . . .

Dissent has played a great part in the history of this country, and none of us have cause to be ashamed of the name of Dissenters. We owe our ideas of political freedom, of civil and religious liberty—we owe our hatred of everything in the nature of arbitrary power—we owe these, and not only we but the kin-

dred nations, the number of nations which own this as their mother country, to the efforts and to the doctrines preached by those Puritan ancestors who loved freedom here, who fought for freedom and suffered for it, and who carried their love for it to the far countries across the water, where they laid the foundations of new empires and of a great republic.

(NEW METHODIST CONNEXION SCHOOL IN BIRMINGHAM,  
*September 4, 1889.*)

### DENOMINATIONAL EDUCATION.

I should be the last to deny or depreciate the enormous sacrifices which have been made by many of the clergy to establish and maintain schools. But I say that on their own confession their motive has been, not the education of the people as a thing which is good in itself, but the maintenance of the doctrines of the Church of England. I say that, even if they had been a great deal more successful than they have really been, it is the worst kind of Conservatism to say that because a thing is good of its kind it shall not be supplanted by something which is better and more complete.

If denominational education is to be extended in England, how can you in justice refuse denominational education in Ireland (*i.e.*, Roman Catholic education)? And then you will have this glorious anomaly in our splendid constitutional system: you



will have the State spending money on mutually destructive objects, and the patient people will be called upon in one breath to swallow the poison and the antidote, and to pay the bill for both!"

(NATIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE, 1868.)

The representatives of the ratepayer must have absolute control of all national funds applied to secular education; all grants for this purpose made to denominational bodies must be withdrawn; religious teaching should be relegated to religious bodies, each at its own time and in its own buildings; but if School Boards were used for such a purpose all denominations must be treated alike, and similar concessions must be made with regard to the Training Colleges.

(*January 24, 1872.*)

### RADICAL PROGRAMMES.

The complete establishment of religious equality, the freedom of education in our national schools, the improvement of the dwellings of the poor, the improvement of the condition of the agricultural labourers, the popular control of the liquor traffic, and such a readjustment of taxation as will proportion its burdens to the means and ability of the taxpayer—these are questions upon which I believe the great majority of the people are agreed, but whose

solution is of necessity delayed till all the people are taken into counsel.

*(November 26, 1883.)*

Local government is the first item in the Liberal programme. Closely after it there comes such a question as the reform of the land laws, of greater importance, I believe, to the towns than it is to the country. There is also the question of revision of taxation. There is the question of the control of the liquor traffic. And then there are the questions of the State Church, of free schools, of the abolition of the game laws, of the greater security of life at sea, and many others which are now coming into the front rank of practical politics, and with which statesmen will shortly be called upon to deal. We cannot trust the solution of these questions to the forced consent of the Tory party, to be refused as long as possible, to be conceded with reluctance, to be granted only when further resistance has become dangerous and impossible.

*(July 24, 1885.)*

#### RANSOM.

How to promote the greater happiness of the masses of the people—how to increase their enjoyment of life—that is the problem of the future. And just as there are politicians who would occupy all the world and leave nothing for the ambition of anybody else, so we have their counterpart at home in the men who

having already annexed everything that is worth having, expect everybody else to be content with the crumbs that fall from their table. Now, if you will go back to the origin of things, you will find that when our social arrangements first began to shape themselves every man was born into the world with natural rights—with a right to the share in the great inheritance of the community, with a right to a part of the land of his birth. Well, but all these rights have passed away. The common rights of ownership have disappeared. Some of them have been sold, some of them have been given away by people who had no right to dispose of them, some of them have been lost through apathy and ignorance, some have been stolen by fraud, and some have been acquired by violence. Private ownership has taken the place of these communal rights, and this system has become so interwoven with our habits and usages—it has been so sanctioned by law and protected by custom—that it might be difficult, and perhaps impossible, to reverse it. But then, I ask, what ransom will property pay for the security which it enjoys? What substitute will it find for the natural rights which have ceased to be recognised? Society is banded together—banded together in order to protect itself against the instincts of men who would make very short work of private ownership if they were left alone. That is all very well, but I maintain that society owes to these men something more than mere toleration in return for the restrictions which it places upon their liberty

of action. I think that in the future we shall hear a great deal about the obligations of property, and we shall not hear quite so much about its rights. What are the rights of property?

(BIRMINGHAM, *January 5, 1885.*)

### RADICALISM.

The Reform Acts of 1885 have set the seal on the great change which the Reform Act of 1832 inaugurated. The government of the people by the people, imperfectly recognised as the principle of the first attempt to improve the Parliamentary representation, has been at last effectively secured by the two measures which together constitute the great achievement of Mr. Gladstone's second administration. At last the majority of the nation will be represented by a majority of the House of Commons, and ideas and wants and claims which have been hitherto ignored in legislation will find a voice in Parliament, and will compel the attention of statesmen. Radicalism, which has been the creed of the most numerous section of the Radical party outside the House of Commons, will henceforth be a powerful factor inside the walls of the popular Chamber. The stage of agitation has passed, and the time for action has come. There is need, therefore, for the attempt which is made in the following pages to compile a definite and practical programme for the Radical party. It is a mistake to suppose that the



objects of the advanced Liberals are simply destructive, for although the ground has to be cleared in many places, the new necessities of the time can only be fully met by constructive legislation. New conceptions of public duty, new developments of social enterprise, new estimates of the natural obligations of the members of the community to one another, have come into view, and demand consideration. On this account, and without pledging myself to all the proposals contained in the following articles, I welcome their appearance, and commend them to the careful and impartial judgment of my fellow-Radicals.

—J. CHAMBERLAIN, *July*, 1885.

(Preface to *The Radical Programme*.)

#### FAIR TRADE AND RETALIATION.

Referring to the advocates of Fair Trade, Reciprocity, and Retaliation. It is gratifying, no doubt, to be assured, as we have been by all of them, that they are opposed to Protection and in favour of “real” Free Trade; but it is difficult for a plain man to reconcile these assurances with the other statements which they have made. We have had expounded to-night several shades in the new heterodoxy, which seems at last to have secured the patronage of the Conservative party. . . . Lord Sandon tells us he is in favour of Fair Trade. I challenge him to point out to the House any practical distinction between what he calls Fair Trade and

what the rest of the world have hitherto consented to call Protection.

An excess of imports over exports causes much anxiety to a certain class of persons in this country, and is regarded by them as a sign of weakness and a proof of our commercial decline. I consider it, on the contrary, as a fact which ought to give us the greatest satisfaction. . . . What does this enormous balance represent? In the first instance, it represents the cost of freight—the carrying trade of the world, and especially of English goods, having passed almost entirely into English hands. But over and above this item it represents nothing more nor less than the profit derived by this country from its external trade and the interest from its investments abroad, during these forty years.

(HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August 12, 1881.*)

### IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

I have seen it stated that in Birmingham there exists a profitable industry in the manufacture of idols for South African negroes, and another industry for the manufacture of guns warranted to burst the first time they are fired. Generally speaking, I observe that everything which is said about Birmingham is inaccurate, and I disclaim any belief in these stories; but suppose, for the sake of argument, that this charge against the morality of my fellow-townsmen could be substantiated, and that a Birmingham manufacturer

sells a brass deity to the negroes, or a gun such as those which were disposed of by the late Government to the number of 200,000, at the rate of 2s. 6d. apiece ; then, if for either of the commodities the Birmingham trader received an ounce of gold, as he well might, in return, the transaction would appear in the statistical tables as an export of 2s. 6d., and an import of about £3. The balance of trade would be £2 17s. 6d. against the Birmingham tradesman, and yet I do not think he would have any cause to be dissatisfied with the pecuniary results of the transaction. But why should what is profitable in the case of the individual become unprofitable when multiplied by the thousand or the million in the case of the nation? And yet this is the contention of gentlemen who fume and fret whenever the value of what we receive is greater than the value of what we give.

(HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August 12, 1881.*)

### DUTIES UPON FOOD.

Is any one bold enough to propose that we should put duties upon food? I can conceive it just possible, although it is very improbable that under the sting of great suffering, and deceived by misrepresentations, the working classes might be willing to try strange remedies, and might be foolish enough to submit for a time to a proposal to tax the food of the country, but one thing I am certain of. If this course is ever taken, and if the depression were to continue, or to recur, it

would be the signal for a state of things more dangerous and more disastrous than anything which has been seen in this country since the repeal of the Corn Laws. With the growth of intelligence on the part of the working classes, and with the knowledge they now possess of their own power, the reaction against such a policy would be attended by consequences so serious that I do not like to contemplate them. A tax on food would mean a decline in wages. It would certainly involve a reduction in their productive value ; the same amount of money would have a smaller purchasing power. It would mean more than this, for it would raise the price of every article produced in the United Kingdom, and it would indubitably bring about the loss of that gigantic export trade which the industry and energy of the country working under conditions of absolute freedom has been able to create.

(HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August 12, 1881.*)

#### INTENTION IN PROTECTION.

The House has learnt from Mr. Ecroyd that the question whether a man is a Protectionist or not depends entirely upon his motive at the time. It is not a question of fact, but it is a question of intention ; and if a man comes to this House and proposes to levy a 5s. duty on corn to protect the farmer he would be a Protectionist ; but if another man comes down and proposes to lay the same duty on foreign



corn, and said, in the words of the hon. member, that he did it "quietly and peacefully, in order to determine the flow of capital and labour by driving the industry to the colonies," and although the same results may follow, although the action is similar and the conditions are identical, in the one case it is to be called Protection, while in the other the name of Protection is to be indignantly repudiated. This seems to be a question beyond ordinary comprehension. It is a problem in casuistry rather than a question of practical politics.

(HOUSE OF COMMONS, *March 24, 1882.*)

#### EFFECT OF PROTECTION.

The gist of the message which Lord Salisbury has to convey to the people of Wales is that if they will return him to power he will promise them a vigorous foreign policy, and a feeble imitation of Protection in the guise of what is called Fair Trade. That seems to me, gentlemen, to be a rather small programme for a great party. . . . As to the prospect of any return to Protection in any shape or form, I think it is inconceivable that the agricultural interest would allow manufactures to be protected, while food imports went free, and I think it is equally improbable that the working classes of this country will ever again submit to the sufferings and to the miseries which were inflicted upon them by the Corn Laws in order to keep up the rents of the landlords. If that is the programme of the Tory party we have only, in answer

to it, to recall the history of those times when Protection starved the poor, and when the country was brought by it to the brink of revolution. Remember the description which was given in the Corn Law Rhymer of the sufferings endured by the people, and of the burning indignation which these sufferings called forth :

“They taxed your corn, they fettered trade,  
The clouds to blood, the sun to shade,  
And every good that God had made,  
They turned to bane and mockery.  
They knew no interest but their own,  
They shook the State, they shook the Throne.  
O years of crime! The great and true,  
The nobly wise—now, not the few—  
Bid freedom grow where Corn Laws grew,  
And plant it for eternity.”

That is not a retrospect which I think would be favourable to any party or any statesman who should have the audacity to propose that we should go back to those evil times.

*(April 28, 1885.)*

#### FREE TRADE.

I will only put before you two reasons why I differ from those who desire to abandon Free Trade. My first reason is this—that in times past in this country when England was under Protection, and in foreign countries to-day which are also under Protection, notably in the United States and in France, trade is

even worse than it is now and here. My second reason is a little more complicated. We are, after all, a very small country that plays a very large part in the history of the world, and owing to the fact that we are a small country we cannot be self-sufficing ; we cannot maintain by ourselves, by our own efforts alone, the vast population that is crowded within the limits of our territory. We depend upon our foreign trade. But if by any means—by Protection or any other—you shut the door upon foreign goods, you may be quite certain that the result will be that there will be fewer English goods that will go abroad. All foreign trade is a matter of exchange.

I know there are some people who are led astray by the insufficient study of Board of Trade statistics. They say that the amount of our exports is less in money value than the amount of our imports, and they say the balance of trade is against us and the country is being drained of its gold. This is an entire mistake. If that were true, if the balance between the amount of our exports and the amount of our imports were paid in gold, there would not be a single sovereign in this country, and there would not have been for the last thirty years. But, on the contrary, the stock of gold has increased within the present generation, and the real fact is that every pennyworth of foreign goods that comes into this country is paid for by a similar amount of English goods that go out of the country—either, that is to say, English goods directly, as represented by the figures of the Board of Trade, or



English work in the shape of, for instance, the freight of shipping transport ; and in that way, therefore, whatever foreign countries may do in their endeavour to close their markets to our trade, as long as they send goods here they are obliged to take our goods in return.

(BIRMINGHAM, *March* 30, 1895.)



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*MacKinnon, Alexander*

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*Joseph Chamberlain on both sides*

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